DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 259 339 CS 209 034

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TITLE Category Accessibility and Recall Accuracy: The Impact of Exposure to Mass Media in Witness Recall Situations.
PUB DATE Aug 85
NOTE 29p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (68th, Memphis, TN, August 3-6, 1985). Document contains small print.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Comparative Analysis; Encoding (Psychology); Higher Education; *Information Processing; *Information Retrieval; Mass Media; *Media Research; Memory; Models; Perception; Psychological Studies; *Recall (Psychology); *Recognition (Psychology); Retention (Psychology); Student Attitudes; Test Validity; Time Perspective
IDENTIFIERS *Constructs

ABSTRACT

The R.S. Wyer and T.K. Srull model suggests that when humans process information and store it in memory they create construct categories that are somewhat like storage bins. According to this model, when information is placed in these bins, it is stored in the order that it is received or used, with the most recently processed information always placed near the top of the bin. Similarly, the E. T. Higgins and G. King model of information processing is predicated on the assumption that long-term memory consists of a series of construct structures. Each construct is thought of as an energy cell, where the energy potential of the cell is increased whenever it is activated or excited and slowly dissipates over time. The results of a study that attempted to apply these models to a witness recall situation offered little support for both models. Both the recency and the frequency manipulations implemented after the encoding of information appeared to influence the retrieval of information. Stronger support was found for the Wyer and Srull model than was found for Higgins and King model. (HOD)

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Category Accessibility and Recall Accuracy:

The Impact of Exposure to Mass Media in Witness Recall Situations

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Abstract

An experiment was conducted to test the impact of recently and frequently activated construct categories on judgements made from information stored in memory. The study attempted to apply the models of Wyer and Srull (1980) and Higging and King (1980) to a witness recall situation. The results offered limited support for both models. Both frequency and media manipulated recency activations of construct categories implemented after the encoding of information appeared to influence the retrieval of information from memory. Stronger support was found for the Wyer and Srull model than is found for the Higgins and King model.

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Category Accessibility and Recall Accuracy:

The Impact of Exposure to Mass Media in Witness Recall Situations

In recent years, the reliability of eyewitness testimony in jury trials has been scrutinized by researchers interested in the accuracy of testimony presented long after the witnessing of an event. Penrod, Loftus, and Winkler (1982) report that even though eyewitness testimony is often unreliable, jurors rely heavily on this type of information during the decision-making process. Penrod et al. identify several factors which inhibit the accurate recall of information by witnesses. These factors include, the types of probes used by attorneys, question biases of attorneys, lineup instruction biases, disguises, multiple retrievals of information, and context effects. These factors, though widely researched, fail to examine cognitive processes which inhibit the accurate recall of information.

One factor which influences the recall accuracy of witness testimony is the accessibility of cognitive construct categories, the outcome of the process of mentally assembling, integrating, or synthesizing sense data (Higgins and Chaires, 1980). According to several authors (e.g.,Higgins, Rholes, & Jones, 1977; Wyer & Srull, 1980) interpretation of information about individuals or events can be influenced substantially by the constructs which the interpreter has used or been exposed to in a prior, unrelated context. In trial situations, frequent trial delays between when a witness observes an event and courtroom testimony of an event permit the occurrence of unrelated events to affect the ability of the witness to accurately recall the perceptual event. Such exposure, although accidental and uncontrolled, could contribute to the variability and

subjectivity observed in peoples responses and be critical in determining testimony (Higgins & Chaires, 1980). For example, a witness to a civil disorder involving police might learn just prior to testifying that police accidentally shot and killed a nine year old boy. To what extent does this second unrelated but cognitively relevant event affect the accessibility of construct categories and the witness's recall accuracy of the first perceptual event? This paper attempts to address this type of question by experimentally manipulating category accessibility and measuring the impact of this manipulation on recall.

Models of Construct Accessibility

A growing reserach literature is concerned with a process called "priming," the effects of prior context on the interpretation and retrieval of information. The concept of priming suggests that recently and frequently activated ideas come to mind more easily than ideas that have not been activated, and that this can affect perceptions (Fiske & Taylor, 1984). For example, a woman who has just been raped is more likely to believe that a man walking behind her down a street is getting ready to assault her. Similarly, a man who has repeatedly had his windows broken by juveniles throwing rocks is more likely to interpret the sound of breaking glass in the kitchen as another attack on his home.

The manner in which recency and frequency can affect the encoding and retrieval of information has been dealt with most recently in two models of information processing: the "storage bin" model (Wyer & Srull, 1980), and the "energy cell" model (Higgins and King, 1980). In their storage-bin model, Wyer and Srull suggest that recently activate concepts play an important role

in the formation of judgements based on the recall of information from memory. Wyer (1973) states that judgements of stimulus people, objects, and events depend on a limited sample of information about these stimuli retrieved at the time judgements are made. The storage bin model predicts that recently activated construct categories are more accessible for retrieval than other equally relevant categories and, thus, more likely to provide the information upon which judgements are made.

Wyer and Srull (1980) suggest that when humans process information and store it in memory they create construct categories that are somewhat like storage bins. Each category contains either specific information (about a person, object, or event), or general information (about a group of people, objects, or events), and is labelled in a specific way so that it identifies the concept or concepts to which its contents refer. Social information encoded into these memory bins is stored as a complex configuration of concepts where some aspects of the original information may be left out and other features not contained in the original information may be added. According to this model, when information is placed in these bins, it is stored in the order that it is received or utilized, with the most recently processed information always placed near the top of the bin. This becomes important when people are called upon to make a judgement based on information from memory. In this situation, people do not perform an exhaustive search of memory for all previously acquired information relevant to the subject, but sample only a subset of the information which is most readily available. Since a recently activated construct category will be near the top of the bin, information contained in this category will be used in

making the judgement.

Like Wyer and Srull's model, the Higgins and King (1980) model of information processing is predicated on the assumption that long-term memory consists of a series of construct categories. Higgins and King suggest that each construct category can be thought of a an energy cell, where the energy potential of the cell is increased whenever it is activated or excited and slowly dissipates over time (Higgins & Chaires, 1980). According to this model, prolonged increases in the energy potential of a cell can only be obtained through repeated activation of the construct. Frequent activation in a short time period produces only momentary increases in the energy potential of the cell; while repeated activation over long periods of time enhances a more persistent increase in this potential.

Higgins and Chaires suggest that the cell with the greatest energy potential will be used first to encode stimuli if it is applicable. Since the increase in the potential of a cell caused by recency of activation dissipates quickly, the permanent accessibility of a given construct is primarily a function of frequency of activation. If, as Wyer (1973) suggests, memory based judgements of stimuli are dependent on the most accessible sample of information about the stimuli, then, according to this model, judgements about people, objects, and events will be dominated by the most frequently activated, relevant construct category.

Construct Accessibility and Recall

Both the storage bin and energy cell models of information processing suggest that priming a construct can have an important impact on the encoding

and retrieval of information. Most research in this area suggests that priming is particularly important when information is being encoded (i.e., in shaping the information that is stored in the construct category); however, similar effects can occur at retrieval when people reinterpret information they have stored in memory in light of a new category accessible at that moment (Fiske & Taylor, 1984).

Contemporay research supports the proposition that a construct primed at the time of retrieval can have an influence on information drawn from memory. In a study on the recall of previously unrecallable information, Anderson and Pichert (1978) demonstrated that altering the perspective of an individual after they had read a story made information related to the new perspective more available and increased recall of that information. In this study, subjects were first given either a burglar of a home-buyer perspective before reading a story that provided details about what two people saw while walking through a house. After an initial recall test, subjects were told to take the other perspective and again asked to recall what they had read. In this condition, subjects with the new perspective could recall category consistent information that they had not recalled initially, suggesting that the priming of a new construct category influenced retrieval.

Additional support for retrieval effects comes from research by Zadny and Gerard (1974). In this study, subjects were given three different labels for the intent of actors seen in a skit. In one case the actors were said to have theft in mind; in the second case they were said to be concerned with a drug bust that was about to occur; and in the third case they were said to be waiting for a friend to arrive. Different groups of subjects were provided with one of these three labels either before or after watching the skit in which two actors were heard discussing previous encounters with the

police. The findings of the study demonstrated that recall of category consistent items was stongly affected by providing a label before exposure to the skit; however, significant differences were also found to result from providing labels after exposure.

From the evidence cited above, it would appear that under some conditions the accessibility of relevant construct categories at the time of retrieval can impact the recall and judgements of earlier perceived events. With regard to the process that would be most important in making categories accessible, different predictions would be made by the storage bin and energy cell models. According to Wyer and Srull's (1980) storage bin model, the most recently activated category will impact the most on recall and judgements of perceptual events. According to the Higgins and King (1980) energy cell model, the most frequently activated category will have the greatest impact on recall and judgements about perceptions.

When the most recently activated construct category and the most frequently activated construct category contain different information, these two models of construct accessibility make different predictions about recall accuracy and the nature of judgements of perceptual events. For example, consider once again the situation in which the witness to a civil disorder involving the police learns in a news report just prior to testifying in court that a police officer accidentally shot and killed a nine year old boy. How would this influence the recall of the earlier unrelated event? The Wyer and Srull model would predict that our witness' recall and judgement of the original event would be heavily influenced by the recently activated construct which

characterizes police as unjustified, harmful, and dangerous. The Higgins and King model might take additional information into account, however. If, for example, the witness had relayed his/her testimony to police or lawyers on numerous occassions prior to the appearance in court, then the frequently activated construct category dealing with his/her perceptions of the earlier event would have a greater energy level than it would in a situations where the witness had never recalled the event. In this case, the Higgins and King model would predict that our witness' testimony would be relatively unaffected by exposure to the story of the police shooting.

The present study was designed to investigate the impact of recently and frequently activated construct categories on judgements made from information stored in memory. As well as attempting to add to previous research which has looked at the accurate recall of information, this study will investigate the impact of category activation on recall distortions and attitudes. In particular, this study attempts to apply the models' of Wyer and Srull and Higgins and King to witness recall situations. To answer the questions raised by these issues, an experiment was designed to manipulate the recency and frequency of category activation with for a particular event and to measure the recall accuracy, recall distortions, and attitudes that might be influenced by these manipulations.

The basic design for this study was a 2 x 3 factorial arrangement with recency and frequency of category activation as the two factors. The particular event used in this study was contained in a documentary film segment about two police officers involved ib a civil disorder dealing with a dispute

between a man and a married couple. Subjects recall accuracy, recall distortions, and attitudes relevant to this event were measured six weeks after exposure, and acted as dependent measures. The recency manipulation was produced by exposure to a film segment just prior to gathering subjects' responses to the dependent measures. Subjects were exposed to one of two film segments: one depicting police behaving in a proper and helpful manner; or one depicting police behaving in an improper and harmful manner. The frequency manipulation was produced by varying the number of times subjects were asked to recall the events of the documentary film. During the period between exposure to the documentary and the gathering of the dependent measure, subjects were asked to recall the event either no times, two times, or four times.

The predictions for this experiment were derived from the storage bin and energy cell models discussed above. According to the Wyer and Srull model, we would expect the most recently activated construct to dominate category accessibility and influence recall and attitudes. In this situation, we would predict that subjects exposed to the proper police behavior film will have: 1) higher scores on the accurate recall of positive police behavior and lower scores on the accurate recall of negative police behavior; 2) higher scores on the distorted recall of positive police behavior and lower scores on the distorted recall of negative police behavior; and 3) higher scores on measures of attitudes toward police.

According to the Higgins and King model, we would expect the most frequently activated construct to dominate category accessibility and to influence recall and attitudes. In this situation, we would predict that subjects who had been asked to recall the events in the documentary four times would have: 1) higher scores on the accurate recall of all events (positive, negative,

and neutral police behavior); and 2) lower scores on the distorted recall of all events (positive, negative, and neutral police behavior) than subjects who had been asked to recall the events two times or not at all. In a similar manner, subjects who had been asked to recall the events two times would be predicted to have the same type of higher scores on accurate recall and lower scores on distorted recall than subjects who had never been asked to recall the events.

METHODS

Subjects

Fifty-four male and 58 female undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory mass communication course received extra credit for serving as subjects in the experiment. All subjects signed an informed consent form, and were told that they were free to leave during the course of the experiment without penalty. Seven male and three female subjects failed to attend one or more of the six experimental sessions and were dropped from the analyses. The remaining forty-seven male and 55 female subjects were included in all analyses. Subjects participated in groups of five to seven.

Procedure

Subjects taking part in the experiment attended an experimental session once a week for six consecutive weeks. During the first session, subjects viewed two short video-taped segments. Subjects were told that the study dealt with perceptions of event time, and were asked to estimate the length of time from the beginning to the end of each segment. The first segment was from a television game show and was intended to act as a blind for the

the real purposes of the experiment. The second segment was a clip from a black and white documentary on police activity and provided the stimulus information upon which measures of recall and attitude would be based.

During the next four sessions, frequency manipulations were implemented for subjects in the appropriate groups. For subjects in the no-frequency-group, no reference to the documentary was made during this four week period. Instead, tasks unrelated to this experiment were performed. For the medium frequency group, prior to performing the same unrelated tasks performed by the no-frequency group, subjects were asked to recall the events of the documentary. This frequency manipulation occurred during the second and fourth weeks of the six consecutive weeks. For the high-frequency group, subjects were asked to recall the events of the documentary during the second, third, fourth, and fifth weeks of the study. The recall task used to manipulate frequency was an open-ended questionnaire that asked subjects to describe in as much detail as possible the people, places, and events that they recalled from their viewing of the documentary.

During the final session, the recency manipulation was implemented. All groups were once again shown two short video-taped segments. The first segment, a music video from MTV, was the same for all groups. The second segment was manipulated to act as the recency stimulus. In this manipulation, half of the groups saw a "good cop" film segment while the other groups saw a "bad cop" segment. The good cop segment was from an episode of "The Rookies," in which police officers are shown taking great care to provide a suspect whom they believe is guilty of a brutal murder with his constitutional right, and to

follow correct police procedure. The bad cop segment was from a police drama in which undercover police officers involved in a drug bust on the wrong house violently assault an innocent man while shooting his wife and two children. Following their discovery of the mistake that they had made, the officers attempt to cover up the incident.

After exposure to one of the two film segments, subjects filled out four questionnaires. The first questionnaire was the same as the questionnaire completed during the first week of the experiment asking subjects to estimate the length of time from the beginning to the end of the two taped segments they had just seen. The second and third questionnaires were designed to measure recall accuracy. The second was the same open-ended questionnaire used during weeks two through five as the frequency manipulation. The third questionnaire was a true/false questionnaire asking subjects whether or not they had actually seen of heard different events occur in the documentary. The fourth questionnaire was designed to measure subjects' perceptions about the legal system and attitudes toward the police.

Dependent Measures

Recall. Seven Measures of recall were employed in this study. One measure was created from subject' responses to the true/false questionnaire (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire contained 31 statements regarding the events and people shown in the documentary. Subjects were asked to mark statements true if they actually saw or heard the events described in the statements, and to mark all other statements false. The total number of correct responses was summed for each subject to create a recall accuracy

measure labeled "recognition." All other measures of recall were taken from the open-ended questionnaire.

Subjects' open-ended recall statements were coded in six different categories. Responses were categorized as either accurate or distorted recall of events that reflected either positively, negatively, or neutrally on the police depicted in the documentary. This scheme resulted in six categories labeled "positive recall," "negative recall," "neutral recall," "positive distortion," "negative distortion," and "neutral distortion." Subjects' responses were categorized by two trained coders. Both coders were provided with a list of 37 events which were depicted in the documentary and which covered all behaviors portrayed in the film segment. These 37 events comprised the accurate recall categories: four reflected positively, five negatively, and 28 neutrally on the police in the documentary. The "positive recall" behaviors depicted police acting in a sympathetic and caring manner providing help beyond the requirements of routine proper-police behavior (e.g., calming an upset individual by patting them on the back). The "negative recall" behaviors depicted police acting in an unsympathetic manner which could be considered inappropriate police behavior (e.g., pulling the hair of a woman to subdue her, and complaining about the job of a police officer). The "neutral recall" behaviors depicted proper police behavior that might be considered routine (e.g., questionning a witness, calling for back-up, and hand-cuffing somebody causing a disturbance). The type of behaviors coded into the positive, negative, and neutral distortion categories were consistent with those for the three recall categories except that the

reported event would not have been one listed in the 37 events comprising the activities portrayed in the documentary film segment. Intercoder agreement was .88.

Attitudes. Two measures of attitude were also employed in this study. The first measure was taken from subject' responses to a questionnaire designed to measure attitudes toward police (see Appendix 2). The questionnaire contained 19 statements regarding police, such as "police are careful not to arrest innocent people," and "police hound ex-convicts." The 19 items were taken from two previous studies. Five statements were taken from Smith and Hawkins (1973), and the remaining 14 items were taken from Cleaver, Mylonas, and Reckless (1966). Subjects responded to each statement on a seven point Likert-like scale ranging from "very strongly agree" to "very strongly disagree." A principle components factor analysis with varimax rotation was performed on these 19 items. The results of this solution yielded five factors which accounted for 63% of the variance. Composit factor scores were computed for all five factors by summing for each subject the scores on all items that loaded cleanly on each factor. Factor loadings for each item are reported in Appendix 2.

The second measure of attitude was derived from the true/false questionnaire reported on above. This measure was created in the following manner. First, five evaluators were told to read the 31 true/false items as if they were true, and to rate each item as reflecting positively, negatively, or neutrally on the police involved in the statement. If four of the evaluators rated the statement the same, the statement was assigned to that category. If less

than four raters agreed, the statement was dropped. From this process, four items were categorized as reflecting positively on police behavior and 10 items were categorized as reflecting negatively on police behavior. Second, two composit scores were computed based on subject' responses to: 1) the items that reflected positively on police behavior; and 2) the items that reflected negatively on police behavior. Responses of true to the four positive police behavior items were summed for each subject to create an attitude measure called "police are helpful." Responses of true to the 10 negative police behavior items were summed for each subject to create a measure called "police are harmful."

RESULTS

Recency Effects

The first group of predictions dealt with the impact of the recency manipulation on recall accuracy. In order to test these predictions, t-tests were performed on measures of "recognition," "positive recall," "negative recall," and "neutral recall." Analyses on "recognition" and "positive recall" failed to show differences due to the recency manipulation. However, significant differences were found on analyses of "negative recall" [$t(101)=3.36$, $p<.01$] and "neutral recall" [$t(101)=2.12$, $p<.05$]. For measures of "negative recall" subjects in the good-cop condition demonstrated greater recall of negative police behavior ($M=1.3$) than subjects in the bad-cop condition ($M=0.7$). Similarly, for measures of "neutral recall" subjects in the good-cop condition ($M=7.3$) scored higher than subjects in the bad-cop condition ($M=5.8$).

The second group of predictions tested dealt with the impact of the recency manipulation on recall distortions. In order to test these predictions, t-tests were performed on measures of "positive distortions," "negative distortions," and "neutral distortions." Analyses on "positive distortions" and "neutral distortions" failed to show significant differences due to the recency manipulation. However, significant differences were found on the analysis of "negative distortions" [$t(101)=1.81$, $p<.05$], where subjects in the bad-cop condition ($M=.98$) had more negative distortions than subjects in the good-cop condition ($M=.56$).

The third set of predictions dealt with the impact of recency on attitudes toward police. In order to test these predictions, t-tests were performed on the five factors extracted from subject' responses to the questionnaire on attitudes toward police, and on the two measures called "police are helpful" and "police are harmful." Significant differences were found on analysis of "police are harmful" [$t(101)=1.84$, $p<.05$], where subjects in the bad-cop condition ($M=3.3$) thought the police behavior in the documentary was more harmful than did subjects in the good-cop condition ($M=2.8$). All other analyses failed to produce any differences approaching significance.

Frequency Effects

The first set of predictions about frequency effects dealt with recall accuracy. In order to test these hypotheses, t-tests were performed on measures of "recognition," "positive recall," "negative recall," and "neutral recall." Analyses on "positive recall" and "negative recall"

failed to produce significant differences. However, significant differences were found on analyses of "recognition" and "neutral recall." As can be seen in Table 1, subjects in the high-frequency condition had more accurate

Table 3

Mean Scores of Recognition and Neutral Recall

As a Function of Frequency Condition

Dependent Measure	Frequency Condition		
	No Frequency	Medium Frequency	High Frequency
Recognition	21.8[a]	22.7[ab]	22.9[b]
Neutral Recall	5.0[a]	7.3[b]	7.0[b]

Note: Comparisons are within measures only (horizontal). Means having no superscript letter in common differ significantly at $p<.05$ by one-tailed t-test.

"recognition"of events in the documentary than did subjects in the no-frequency condition, with subjects in the medium frequency condition scoring in between the other two groups, but not differing significantly. On measures of "neutral recall" subjects in both the medium and high-frequency conditions scored significantly higher than subjects in the no-frequency condition.

The second set of predictions about frequency effects dealt with recall distortions. In order to test these predictions, t-tests were performed on measures of "positive distortions," "negative distortions," and "neutral distortions." No significant differences were found in these analyses.

DISCUSSION

The results of the present investigation offer limited support for both the Wyer and Srull and the Higgins and King models of category accessibility. Both the recency and the frequency manipulations implemented after the encoding of information appeared to influence the retrieval of information.

The support provided by the present study for the energy cell model is minimal in comparison to that provided for the storage bin model. Predicted increases in recall accuracy were found for measures of "recognition" and "neutral recall," however, expected increases in the accurate recall of positive and negative police behavior did not occur. This may not seem as important in view of the fact that most events to be recalled in the documentary fell into the neutral category. However, when one considers the fact that, for all measures, no predicted reduction in recall distortions resulted from repeated activation of the construct category, then the case for important frequency effects is weakend.

Perhaps more interesting are the findings for the recency manipulation. Effects resulting from exposure to an unrelated stimulus, a dramatic film segment, were found on four different measures. In line with expectations,

subjects exposed to the bad-cop film segment during the final session had more negative distortions and thought that the police behavior was more harmful than did subjects exposed to the good-cop film. In addition, although no specific predictions were made for the impact of the recency manipulation on the accurate recall of neutral information, the significant increase in accurate recall of neutral events for subjects exposed to the good-cop film may be seen as consistent with the storage bin model when the content of the stimulus film is taken into consideration. The stimulus film, instead of being a film portraying the police in some heroic behavior, showed police officers carefully following proper police procedures. Because of this, it might be expected that exposure to this film segment would activate a construct category dealing with proper police behavior instead of activating the super-cop construct that may have been expected. This might also help explain the somewhat surprising finding for the accurate recall of negative police behavior. Counter to expectations, subjects in the good-cop condition showed greater recall of negative police behavior than did subjects in the bad-cop condition. Once again, if the good-cop film activated a proper police procedure construct, we might expect subjects in this frame of mind to have greater recall of inappropriate police behavior as well. The fact that these subjects in the good-cop condition also thought police behavior was less harmful at the same time as recalling more negative events seems consistent with this interpretation.

Any interpretation of this study should take into account several

factors. First, the time period over which this study took place may be important. For example, one of the reasons that stronger frequency effects were not found in comparison to the recency effects might be due to the fact that the first activation of the construct associated with the documentary did not take place until one week after exposure. It is possible that by this time recall accuracy had already drastically declined. Further, as already mentioned, the stimuli used to manipulate recency might have produced very different effects if one presented heroic police behavior instead of proper police behavior. Investigations now underway attempt to look at these issues by reducing the time period of the experiment from six weeks to six days, and by including different recency manipulations which present police behavior that is heroic as well as behavior that is simply proper. In addition, present attempts are being made to use realistic material for recency activation by employing news items as stimuli along with dramatic presentations in order to see if this seemingly more relevant construct might produce stronger effects.

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Appendix 1 *

Below are statements about the documentary on police action which you saw the first week. Please respond to these statements by marking true for the events you actually saw or heard and false for the events which you did not actually see or hear.

1. At the beginning of the documentary the officer in the passenger's seat of the police squad car was talking about problems with gangs in the inner city. True False

Harm 2. At the beginning of the documentary the officer in the squad car said that being an officer was a job where you can't care if people like you. True False

3. The hispanic man in a T-shirt was kicking the pregnant lady (who was in the squad car) in the stomach. True False

Harm 4. The officer on the driver's side of the squad car hit the lady in the squad car with a night stick. True False

Harm 5. The same officer pulled the lady out of the car because she was kicking the inside of the squad car door. True False

Harm 6. The same officer hit the woman on the head when trying to subdue her. True False

Harm 7. The woman in the squad car was handcuffed when the police attempted to subdue her. True False

Harm 8. Two officers physically subdued the woman in the police car. True False

Harm 9. The lady in the car was injured by police. True False

10. The woman in the squad car said that her husband was injured when the hispanic man in the T-shirt shot him. True False

* Note: Items marked "Help" were included in the four item measure labeled "police are helpful." Items marked "Harm" were included in the ten item measure labeled "police are harmful."

11. The officer next to the driver's side of the car asked the lady to be quiet before he pulled her out of the police car. True False

12. The woman said she never saw a gun. True False

13. The scene depicted in the documentary showed one man shooting another man. True False

14. The police went up the street to apprehend the lady's husband. True False

Harm 15. No one ever asked the hispanic man in the T-shirt to explain his side of the story. True False

Harm 16. The man in the T-shirt was injured by police. True False

17. The man in the T-shirt said the lady's husband came in his bedroom window. True False

18. The man in the T-shirt requested that an officer call his wife and child. True False

19. The woman in the police car was being arrested. True False

20. The man in the T-shirt claimed to have been in bed when the incident began. True False

Help 21. The police found a gun at the scene. True False

Harm 22. The police never asked the woman to explain her side of the story. True False

23. The lady's husband pulled a gun on the man in the white T-shirt. True False

24. The man in the white T-shirt was handcuffed. True False

25. The man in the T-shirt said that he and the lady in the squad car did not know each other. True False

26. There were no outside witnesses to the dispute between the man in the T-shirt and the lady's husband. True False

Help 27. The officers in the first squad car called for a backup squad car.
True False

28. When the dispute was over the police took the woman in the squad car to the police station. True False

Help 29. When the dispute was over the police released the man in the T-shirt.
True False

30. The police arrested the lady's husband. True False

Help 31. The police read the man in the T-shirt his rights. True False

Appendix 2

Below is a list of statements designed to measure your perceptions about the legal system. For each statement, indicate how much you agree or disagree with that statement by putting an "X" on the scale from "very strongly agree" to "very strongly disagree."

	Factors				
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
1) On the whole, policemen are honest.	.52*	.08	-.27	-.27	-.47*
2) A cop is a friend to people in need.	.29	.15	-.47	-.48	-.41
3) Cops often carry a grudge against men who get in trouble with the law and then treat them cruelly.	-.44	.49	.35	.02	-.15
4) Police put on a show by arresting people.	-.41	.19	.43	.20	.01
5) Police hound ex-convicts.	.06	.78*	.11	-.06	.02
6) Police work rests mainly upon information given by stool pigeons.	.09	.70*	.03	.08	.05
7) The policeman's standing in his department depends on the number of arrests he makes.	.08	.30	.04	.70*	-.22
8) Policemen are more loyal to the police than to the citizens.	-.29	.49*	.01	.30	.29

*items selected for inclusion in generating factor scores

	Factors				
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
9) Policemen show favoritism to politicians.	-.35	.56*	.06	.18	.34
10) Police are careful not to arrest innocent persons.	.78*	.11	-.10	-.10	-.07
11) You can seldom find a policeman who doesn't take bribes.	-.17	.22	.73*	-.20	-.01
12) Policemen are just as crooked as the people they arrest.	-.19	.11	.78*	.11	.23
13) Life would be better with fewer policemen.	.03	.03	.63*	.46*	-.04
14) Policeman almost always respect the constitutional rights of suspected criminals.	.62*	.06	-.35	-.12	.06
15) People who know the ropes and have money to afford good lawyers don't really have anything to worry about from the police.	.14	.27	.00	-.07	.71*
16) Generally speaking, all people are treated the same by the police regardless of race or color.	.53*	-.31	-.29	.04	-.21
17) Blacks tend to get harder treatment from the police than most other people get.	-.16	-.01	.03	.67*	.16
18) Policemen try to give teenagers an even break in most cases.	.80*	-.24	.08	-.08	.13
19) The way you are treated by police depends pretty much on who you are and who you know.	.00	.58*	.29	.07	.46*